/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave
[372] pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[177] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family. If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛʏ ɕioŋʏ] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛʏ ʂaʏ] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
752 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
● 791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit.
[755 "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297. ANALYST]

177 /129 cont./
●791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
*782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/143 cont./

(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is considered that the [ŋaŋ¹ gueiˀ piˀnuˀ] and [naŋ¹ nuˀ piˀ ʂɛˀ] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /paɤˀ piˀ nuˀ/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

Ta Kan Lo is called [taˀ kʻioˀ tʻaˀ lieŋˀ] in the Miao language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/. Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/158 cont./
After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

/159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

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as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages. 165 163

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual. 844 788 791

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground. 788 793

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

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788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes
793 facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
755 of these priests was called in on behalf of
793 the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

•791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao,
788 "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three
755 women in the village who were able to go into a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

•Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

741 788 755 guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

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her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

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was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

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788 755 791

and the frame was taken away. She struck the hatchet down into the firepit between the piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room. This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

*See p. 52.

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788 755 791

blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentry. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it — it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water — or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house. 788 755 791

[63a]

This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

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[636]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I had arrived after the ceremony began. On the hearth before her was a partly burned bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken
755 by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
nan, until money should be sent to him for
• 791 traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of
the three.

[342]

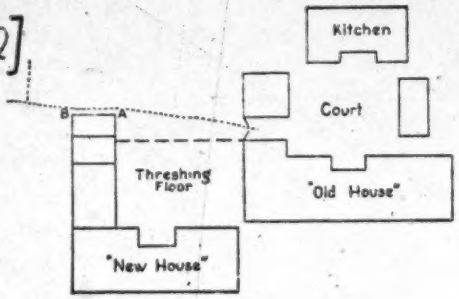

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

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788 She had already begun to sing when I was
755 called in from helping with the sunning of
791 grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She
755 had a graceful motion of lifting the hand be-
791 fore the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.

A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 755 791 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up – except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[12] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

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Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[12]

an enlightened person among the Miao. His religious fervor, however, was a little too excessive, and it disqualified him as a true leader of his people. He preached among them for more than twenty years with great success, but since he and his foreign associates had left the church, no one succeeded them as a full time preacher. The church school has been closed down. There are only two American doctors in the hospital, having charge at the same time of the church, but they have no time for preaching. So the faith of the Miao and I in Protestant Christianity is also on the decline.

Besides the Catholic Church and the China Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists have recently established a church in An-shun to spread the Christian principles but rather on a small scale. At present the work is carried on by a young man of the Hua Miao tribe, named Tang Chen-ying, with about thirty members equally divided among the Chinese and Miao-I, and a church school of over ten Miao children.

The Miao and I in An-shun are largely uneducated and superstitious, believing strongly in ghosts and evil spirits. All their daily and farm activities, trading, sickness, marriage and funeral events are subject to the influences of the spirits.

The following are some examples:

(1) Spiritual Media. The names for spiritual media in An-shun are the same in the Miao-I language as in the Chinese. The men are known as Kwei-shih or Tuan-kung; the women, Mi-la or Mi-pu. Their duty is to sacrifice to the spirits to invoke their aid and to provide a medium between the spiritual and the human worlds. As such they are respected by the people. All ancestor worship and funeral events have to be presided over by the Kwei-shih. Every

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

000 Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.

796 (7) Sweeping the Village. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao every year stage a village sweeping ceremony, the idea being to avoid sickness and disaster during the year. The conditions and rituals of the two being different, they are separately described as follows:

796 791 (A) Village Sweeping of the Hua Miao. Every year on the head dragon day of the second moon, the Hua Miao would collect enough money in the village to perform village sweeping. They first put up a straw pavilion in front of the tree god, in which incense and candles are lit, and led by the Kwei-shih each family would come forth to worship and make sacrifices of rice. After the ceremony is over, the gathering proceeds to a nearby river to dig up a few piculs of river sand, and thence to the mountain to gather a few dozen rattan vines. They twist the rice straw into ropes, on which they fly little colored pennants. Then the Kwei-shih would tie the ropes around the tree god, the earth god and the village god. Next he would visit every family in the village, holding a cock in one hand and dragging a dog with the other; he was followed by the villagers carrying sand and rattan vines. Reaching each house, Kwei-shih would circle around the hall with the cock and dog, and upon leaving, tie a rope on the gate. Sprinkling sand all around and shaking the rattan vines, the party would give a loud yell. When all the households are visited and serviced, the villagers would gather together outside the village, killing the chicken and dog and cooking them in a huge cauldron for a feast.

(B) Village Sweeping of the Ch'ing Miao. One of the days toward the end of the lunar New Year or in the second moon is set aside for village sweeping by the Ch'ing Miao. A few days before the event the village head who happens to

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting:

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I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it.

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are.

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

754 They believe also in such demon possession as is recorded in the New Testament; so do also the Chinese.

791 They also believe in soothsayers, and often when anything is lost or stolen, or if an unknown person has injured their property, they consult them. After the soothsayer has received his fee, he performs certain ceremonies, and after a longer or shorter time a demon takes possession of him. He at once begins to mutter and answer questions, without moving his lips, something after the manner of a ventriloquist. Very often the answers are correct, but not always. The Miao say it is the demon who speaks, not the man. Sometimes the soothsayer will tell a man to offer oxen in sacrifice to his deceased parents when his luck is bad. These soothsayers do not eat flesh meat. A missionary once asked one of them if he were still practising his art, whereat all the other Miao laughed, and the man replied, "Since I have begun to eat meat the demon will not come to me."

754 The Miao are great believers in witches and witchcraft, but they say that only one here and there can really bewitch people. Even the Chinese are afraid of Miao witches, and fear to eat food offered them by the Miao lest they

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847 848 791 844] When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.[12]

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house.

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons.

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult.

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

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12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao.

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776 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them 782 where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} nʌn^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron plough-share, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on 789 twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

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A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaign or *lin shêng* and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

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791 If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. 789 Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed 791 by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square 796 table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla 𐑜 lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

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6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

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791 177 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon, but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored. Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

791 787 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so ɔʌu. So means first or previously and ɔʌu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q os ɐ səʌɪƹ ʌna present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so ɔʌu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

828 787 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

Miao AE 5

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Certain peculiarities relative to funeral ceremonies should be pointed out. The body of the deceased is either stretched out on a cot or fixed to a plank, which in certain tribes is laid out along a partition for three or four days preceding burial. The body is dressed in its finest garments, from which buttons and fastenings have been removed, so that the soul may leave the corpse more easily. A square of red linen is placed over the lower part of the face and on the mouth. The children offer a feast to relatives and friends. The guests present pigs, goats, and dogs, to the deceased, whose flesh will be served to them at the funeral meals. A dog, also prepared for cooking, is attached to the right hand of the deceased by a paw and is supposed /144/ to guide his wandering foot-steps in the other world. The dead person is borne into his grave on the plank to which he is fixed, and the coffin is constructed in the trench even as among the Man Tien. The family's meal is brought to the grave for two or three days, then it is abandoned completely.

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The Meo are the most eclectic of the mountaineers in matters of religion and superstition. They have in their homes an altar to the Ancestors. But this piece of furniture is no more than a small plank suspended by two cords along a partition, and on it is a small ash-bowl in which the sticks of incense are placed. They also have an altar just as crude for the worship of the Hearth. They worship Heaven and Earth as dieties, venerate the Buddhist goddess Quan Am as a good Madonna, the Spirit of Thunder and the Dragon, and believe in three human souls like all the peoples of the Far East. Finally, they are much less afraid then the other mountaineers of Evil Spirits and Demons, to whom they are satisfied to attribute the cause of certain diseases. Their sorcerers are not to be distinguished from the rest of the population. They limit themselves to placing a white veil over their face while officiating at ceremonies. All of the festivals, whatever they may be, are accompanied by music, songs, and feasts irrigated with alcohol.

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